

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS
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SUBJECT: BRIEFING ON US INITIATIVES - DPC MINISTERIAL

REF: (A) STATE 095354 (DTG 272333Z APR 77)(NOTAL)
(B) USNATO 2404 (DTG 260913Z APR 77)(NOTAL)

1. THERE FOLLOWS IN PARA 2 THE TEXT OF AMBASSADOR
KOMER'S SPEAKING NOTES ON PROPOSED U.S. INITIATIVES
FOR NATO, CIRCULATED FOLLOWING HIS BRIEFING TO THE
DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE, MAY 4, 1977. DPC DISCUSSION
IS REPORTED SEPTEL.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF AMBASSADOR KOMER'S REMARKS:
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THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES THAT VISIBLE
STRENGTHENING OF NATO'S DETERRENT/DEFENSE POSTURE, WITHIN
REALISTIC FISCAL CONSTRAINTS, SHOULD BE HIGH ON THE
AGENDA FOR NATO DEFENSE MINISTERS AT THE FORTHCOMING
DPC MEETING. WE DO NOT BY ANY MEANS DENIGRATE SIGNI-
FICANT ONGOING NATO EFFORT, BUT SUGGEST THAT THEY NEED

TO BE SUPPLEMENTED BY CERTAIN NEW ALLIANCE INITIATIVES. THEREFORE, THE US SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WILL PROBABLY PRESENT FOR CONSIDERATION OF HIS COLLEAGUES, IN LIGHT OF SUCH PRIOR CONSULTATIONS AS MY BRIEFING TODAY, THE FOLLOWING PROPOSALS.

I. LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM

THE FIRST PROPOSAL IS THAT THE MINISTERS DIRECT AT THE MAY DPC PREPARATION OF A LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM TO ADAPT NATO'S DETERRENT/DEFENSE POSTURE TO THE NEEDS OF THE 80S. WHILE A PARTIAL ANALOGY WOULD BE TO NATO'S AD-70 AND BASIC ISSUES REPORTS, WE SEE THE NEW PROGRAM AS BEING QUITE DIFFERENT IN CONTENT AS WELL AS SUBSTANCE --NOT ANOTHER MASSIVE PAPER EXERCISE, BUT MORE OF AN ACTION PROGRAM TO CARRY OUT THE PLANS ALREADY BEING MADE.

THE BASIC OBJECTIVE WOULD BE TO FOLLOW-UP THE DPC'S EXCELLENT NEW 1977 MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, AND NATO'S WELL MANAGED FALL 1976 DEFENSE PLANNING REVIEW UNDER ASYG MUMFORD, WHICH HIGHLIGHTED MANY NATO DEFICIENCIES. WE NOW HAVE THE GUIDANCE AND WE'VE IDENTIFIED THE DEFICIENCIES. AFTER REVIEWING ALL THIS, SECRETARY BROWN ASKED WHAT DOES THE ALLIANCE DO ABOUT IT? HERE IS WHERE OUR PROPOSED INITIATIVES COME IN.

WE THINK SOMETHING ELSE BESIDES NATO'S BIENNIAL FORCE GOALS EXERCISE IS NEEDED TO RESPOND ADEQUATELY TO THE
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NEW MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE. BUT LET ME BE CLEAR THAT WE HAVE IN MIND SUPPLEMENTING, NOT DUPLICATING OR SUPPLANTING, ONGOING NATO FORCE PLANNING AND NATIONAL PROGRAMS.

NOR DO WE SEE ANY NEED TO REVIEW THE THREAT OR NATO'S BASIC STRATEGY, WHICH ARE ALREADY COVERED IN MG-77 AND OTHER CURRENT DOCUMENTS. RATHER WE ENVISAGE BUILDING ON NEW MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE TO DEVELOP AN AGREED LONG-TERM PROGRAM DESIGNED TO CARRY IT OUT IN AS SPECIFIC AND PROGRAMMATIC TERMS AS NATIONS CAN AGREE UPON.

TO THIS END WE SUGGEST CONCENTRATING ON A LIMITED NUMBER OF HIGH PRIORITY AREAS WHERE COLLECTIVE ACTION IS URGENTLY REQUIRED. OUR OWN IDEA OF THESE PRIORITY AREAS COINCIDES RATHER CLOSELY WITH THAT OF THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES, AND WE WOULD PROPOSE RELYING HEAVILY ON THEIR INPUTS.

WE TENTATIVELY SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING AREAS AS WORTH SPECIAL TREATMENT (FIRST OF ALL SACEUR'S THREE "R'S,"

WHICH ARE ALSO IMPORTANT TO SACLANT):

1. READINESS -- ESPECIALLY COLLECTIVE MEASURES.
2. QUICKER AND MORE EFFECTIVE REINFORCEMENT AND RESERVE MOBILIZATION -- TO MEET HIGHER RISK OF SHORT WARNING ATTACK.
3. RATIONALIZATION, ESPECIALLY INTEROPERABILITY/ STANDARDIZATION AND HARMONIZATION OF ARMAMENTS DESIGN AND PRODUCTION.

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4. STRENGTHENING NATO'S MARITIME POSTURE.
5. AIR DEFENSE (WHICH MC, SACEUR AND CNAD ALL URGE BE DEALT WITH IN A BROAD FRAME RATHER THAN PIECEMEAL).
6. C3, WHICH SACLANT AND SACEUR TERM OF VERY HIGH PRIORITY.

7. CONSUMER LOGISTICS, INCLUDING ADEQUATE WRM STOCKS.

8. ELECTRONIC WARFARE, WHERE ALLIANCE HIGHLY VULNERABLE.

9. PERHAPS TNF MODERNIZATION, WHICH SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE ADDRESSED IN THE NPG.

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WE SEE SUCH PROBLEM AREAS AS REQUIRING ADDITIONAL ACTION TO SUPPLEMENT NATO'S DEFENSE PLANNING MECHANISM IN THREE SIGNIFICANT WAYS:

1. MANY ASPECTS OF NATO'S PRIORITY AREAS REALLY NEED TO BE ADDRESSED IN A LONGER TIMEFRAME THAN 1979-84. IN SOME CASES, NATO MIGHT HAVE TO LOOK OUT 10-12 YEARS, PARTICULARLY IN ORDER TO HARMONIZE R&D AND DEFENSE PROCUREMENT PROGRAMS, AS IS SO IMPORTANT. FOR EXAMPLE, IF WE SEEK MORE OF A TWO-WAY STREET IN COOPERATIVE DEFENSE PROCUREMENT, WE MUST PLAN WELL AHEAD FOR IT.

2. ALL OF THESE PRIORITY AREAS SEEM TO US TO REQUIRE A HIGH DEGREE OF ALLIANCE COOPERATION THROUGH JOINT PROGRAMS, WHICH ARE HARD TO FIT INTO THE FORCE GOALS FORMAT (E.G., RATIONALIZATION, STANDARDIZATION, INTER-OPERABILITY, SPECIALIZATION, CONSUMER LOGISTICS). SUCH ISSUES CAN BE MORE EFFECTIVELY ADDRESSED IN A LONG-TERM PLAN.

3. THEY WILL DOUBTLESS ALSO REQUIRE STRENGTHENED PROGRAMMING AND IMPLEMENTING MACHINERY TO HELP DESIGN COMMON PROGRAMS AND TO INSURE THAT AGREED PLANS ARE ACTUALLY CARRIED OUT IN PRACTICE. WE FEEL THIS NEED SHOULD BE ASSESSED IN THE COURSE OF DEVELOPING THE PROPOSED LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM.

THE END PRODUCT WE FORESEE WOULD BE A SERIES OF SPECIFIC PROGRAMS, WITH NATIONAL AND COLLECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS SPELLED OUT IN AS PROGRAMMATIC TERMS AS FEASIBLE, COMMON IMPLEMENTING MACHINERY SUGGESTED, AND TIME PHASING LAID OUT. SUCH AGREED PROGRAMS WOULD PROVIDE THE DEFENSE MINISTERS WITH IMPROVED MEANS OF FOLLOWING THROUGH COLLECTIVELY ON WHAT IS NEEDED IN THESE HIGH PRIORITY AREAS AND GENERATING SUITABLE NATIONAL RESPONSES. WHO WOULD PREPARE THE LONG-TERM PROGRAM? WE THINK THAT

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NATO'S OWN CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES, AIDED IF NECESSARY BY EXPERTS FROM NATIONS, ARE BEST QUALIFIED. THE PROCEDURES ARE FOR YOU TO DECIDE, OF COURSE; HOWEVER, WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

1. WE SEE IT AS QUITE IMPORTANT THAT THIS EXERCISE BE LAUNCHED WITHOUT DELAY. THEREFORE WE WOULD HOPE THAT MINISTERS COULD ENDORSE THE PROGRAM AND LAUNCH IT UNDER BROAD GUIDELINES WHICH WOULD DIRECT THE DPC IN PERMANENT SESSION TO BEGIN ACTUAL WORK THIS SPRING.
2. THE NMAS SHOULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN PROPOSING WHAT THEY SEE AS NEEDED IN THE KEY PRIORITY AREAS CHOSEN, INCLUDING WHAT NMA MACHINERY IS REQUIRED TO IMPLEMENT COMMON PROGRAMS.
3. THEN, THE IS AND DPC PERMREPS WOULD ADDRESS THESE NEEDS IN TERMS OF HOW BEST TO MEET THEM WITHIN LIKELY FISCAL CONSTRAINTS, INCLUDING PROPOSALS FOR SUCH COLLEGIAL PROGRAMS AND SUCH STRENGTHENING OF NATO IMPLEMENTING MACHINERY AS ARE NEEDED TO INSURE THAT NEEDED COOPERATIVE MEASURES CAN BE EFFECTIVELY CARRIED OUT.
4. PERHAPS A BODY UNDER D/SYG CHAIRMANSHIP COULD SERVE AS A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO SUPERVISE THE EXERCISE AND REVIEW PERIODIC PROGRESS REPORTS.
5. THE FINAL REPORT WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO MINISTERS AT THE SPRING 1978 DPC, AFTER AN INTERIM PROGRESS REPORT IN

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DECEMBER.

II. SHORT-TERM MEASURES

IN ADDITION, WE WISH TO CONSULT YOU ON A FEW MODEST SHORT-TERM MEASURES, WHICH SECDEF ALSO SEES AS A DESIRABLE RESPONSE TO THE SUMMIT MEETING IN ORDER TO: (1) IMPART A SENSE OF EARLY FORWARD MOVEMENT TOWARD IMPROVEMENT OF NATO'S DEFENSE READINESS, INSTEAD OF ONLY PROPOSING A LONG-TERM PROGRAM; AND (2) GENERATE SOME VISIBLE NATO-WIDE ACTIONS TO PARALLEL INCREASED US DEFENSE CONTRIBUTIONS (IN RESPONSE TO VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S CALL FOR THE ALLIES TO JOIN US IN RISING TO THE CHALLENGE). HERE TOO OUR THINKING SUGGESTS THE CRITERIA FOR SUCH
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INITIATIVES:

1. THE CRITERION OF AFFORDABILITY -- WE ENVISAGE THESE INITIATIVES AS MODEST IN TERMS OF FUNDING REQUIRED, SO AS TO BE WELL WITHIN THE SHORT-RUN POLITICAL-ECONOMIC CONSTRAINTS WHICH AFFECT ALL OF US.

2. THESE INITIATIVES SHOULD RESPOND TO A FEW SELECTED HIGH PRIORITY NMA REQUIREMENTS. INDEED WE SUGGEST THAT THE NMAS BE TASKED TO TELL US PROMPTLY AFTER THE DPC MINISTERIAL WHAT SPECIFIC MEASURES THEY THINK ARE REASONABLE, RATHER THAN TRYING TO SET THEM OURSELVES IN MAY.

3. THEY SHOULD BE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE NEW MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE; INDEED THEY SHOULD BE REGARDED AS AN INTERIM RESPONSE TO IT.

WE SOULD APPRECIATE YOUR REACTIONS TO THE FOLLOWING THREE SHORT-TERM PROPOSALS, BASED ON THE ABOVE CRITERIA, WHICH WE HOPE THE MINISTERS WILL ENDORSE IN PRINCIPLE AT THE MAY MEETING AND CALL ON THE NMAS TO DEVELOP IN DETAIL SO THAT THE NATIONS CAN REPORT ON THEIR SPECIFIC ACCEPTABILITY AT THE DECEMBER DPC MINISTERIAL MEETING.

FIRST, WE SUGGEST A SHORT-TERM EFFORT TO BRING CRITICAL ANTI-ARMOR HOLDINGS UP TO A MINIMAL ACCEPTABLE LEVEL, TO BE RECOMMENDED BY THE NMAS. ANTI-ARMOR HAS LONG BEEN A HIGH NATO PRIORITY. WE WOULD ENVISAGE DPC MINISTERIAL AGREEMENT TO (A) TASK THE NMAS TO RECOMMEND WITHIN 30 TO 60 DAYS INTERIM GROUND ANTI-ARMOR IMPROVEMENT OBJECTIVES, BY NATION; AND (B) MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO MEET THESE OBJECTIVES BY SOME SPECIFIED EARLY DATE, SUCH AS END-1978, REPORTING THEIR GOVERNMENTS' INTENTIONS TO THE DPC NEXT DECEMBER.

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SECOND, WE SUGGEST A SIMILAR INITIATIVE TO REDUCE AT LEAST MODESTLY ANOTHER LONGSTANDING KEY DEFICIENCY -- THAT IN WAR RESERVE MUNITIONS. HERE AS WELL, THE MINISTERS COULD: (A) TASK THE NMAS TO RECOMMEND WITHIN 30 TO 60 DAYS PROPOSED INTERIM INCREASES IN A FEW SELECTED HIGH CONSUMPTION MUNITIONS BY NATION; AND (B) MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO MEET THESE OBJECTIVES BY A SPECIFIC DATE LIKE END-1978, REPORTING THEIR INTENTIONS NEXT DECEMBER.

THIRD, WE SUGGEST THE SAME PROCEDURE BE FOLLOWED ON A FEW CRITICAL READINESS AND REINFORCEMENT DEFICIENCIES, WITH THE MINISTERS AGAIN AGREEING TO TASK THE NMAS TO PREPARE SHORT-TERM RECOMMENDATIONS WITHIN 30 TO 60 DAYS AND NATIONS SIGNIFYING THEIR RESPONSES AT THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL MEETING. WE HAVE IN MIND SUCH MEASURES AS REDUCING DEPLOYMENT TIMES, IMPROVING RESERVE FORCES, AND PERHAPS ACCELERATING SOME PLANNED PROCUREMENT. BUT THIS WOULD BE UP TO THE NMAS TO PROPOSE.

AS WE SEE IT, SUCH A PACKAGE OF SHORT-TERM INITIATIVES, PROBABLY DRAWN LARGELY FROM SACLANT'S AND SACEUR'S FLEXIBILITY AND FORCE PROPOSALS, WOULD NEATLY COMPLEMENT THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM EXERCISE BY DEMONSTRATING FORWARD MOVEMENT TOWARD MEETING SOME OF NATO'S MOST CRITICAL DEFENSE DEFICIENCIES.

TO CONCLUDE MY PRESENTATION, SECRETARY BROWN HAS ASKED ME TO EXPRESS HIS HOPE THAT ALL HIS COLLEAGUES WILL BE

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ABLE TO JOIN HIM IN LAUNCHING SUCH A SET OF INITIATIVES
AS I HAVE DESCRIBED. HE URGES THAT WE NATO ALLIES
COLLEGIALLY DEMONSTRATE THIS DEGREE OF PROMPT RESPON-
SIVENESS TO THE MANDATE LIKELY TO BE GIVEN BY OUR HEADS
OF GOVERNMENT AT THE NATO SUMMIT NEXT WEEK. IT IS AN
OPPORTUNITY AS WELL AS A CHALLENGE.

BUT MORE THAN THIS, HE BELIEVES THAT BOTH THE GROWTH IN
WARSAW PACT OFFENSIVE CAPABILITIES AND, IN ALL CANDOR,
THE QUITE SERIOUS DEFICIENCIES WITHIN OUR OWN ALLIANCE,
BY THEMSELVES DICTATE A NEW DEMONSTRATION OF COLLECTIVE
DETERMINATION TO RESOLVE THE MANY PROBLEMS WE CONFRONT.
HE SEES THE SHORT AND LONGER TERM INITIATIVES I HAVE
MENTIONED AS IMPORTANT TO THIS END.

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THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION WILL BE PROGRESSIVELY REVAMPING
ITS OWN PROCEDURES TO PLACE GREATER EMPHASIS UPON CONTRI-
BUTING TO A BALANCED COALITION POSTURE WHICH CAN CARRY
OUT EFFECTIVELY IN PRACTICE THE COALITION STRATEGY TO
WHICH WE ALL ADHERE. BUT THIS CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED --

AT POLITICALLY AFFORDABLE COST -- BY THE COMBINED EFFORTS
OF ALL ALLIES. THUS, THE SECRETARY WISHES ME TO
UNDERLINE THE KEY POINT MADE EARLIER BY VICE PRESIDENT
MONDALE - WE AMERICANS ARE READY AND WILLING TO DO MORE,
BUT WE COUNT ON PARALLEL CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION BY OUR FELLOW
ALLIES.

WE WOULD WELCOME YOUR REACTIONS TO THESE SUGGESTIONS,
WHICH I WILL CAREFULLY REPORT. BENNETT

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